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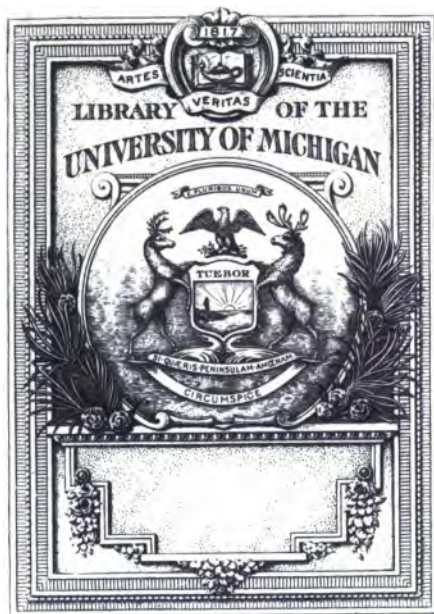
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HISTORY
OF THE
Primitive Yankees;
OR,
PILGRIM FATHERS.





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THE HISTORY
OF
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THE PRIMITIVE YANKEES;
OR,
THE PILGRIM FATHERS
IN
ENGLAND AND HOLLAND.

BY WILLIAM MACON COLEMAN.

— A rogue in grain
Veneer'd with sanctimonious theory.
—*The Princess.*

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—*Press of Rufus H. Darby.*

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PREFATORY.

There are no events connected with the history of this country which have been so grossly misrepresented as those which are considered in this volume. And it is with a view of correcting these false statements and established traditions, and of exposing the arrogant pretensions which have grown out of them, that these investigations are given to the public. The author has no apology to make. He has naught extenuated nor aught set down in malice. He has honestly endeavored to arrive at the facts by drawing from the purest sources of information. The principal authorities cited and those which are relied upon are contemporary writers of the highest reputation. If the evidence does not give a flattering picture of THE PRIMITIVE YANKEES the reporter of the evidence is not to blame.

WASHINGTON, D. C., 1881.

THE HISTORY
OF
THE PRIMITIVE YANKEES;
OR,
THE PILGRIM FATHERS
IN
ENGLAND AND HOLLAND.

The descendants of the Pilgrims of Plymouth Rock claim to derive their origin from the English Puritans. They allege that these English Puritans laid the foundations of civil and religious liberty for mankind at large. And they hold it to be their proper mission on earth to carry forward and to complete the work which, as they say, their ancestors began.

They have notified the world of this claim with sufficient frequency and distinctness. It has been the ground-tone of the countless thousands of their sermons, speeches, and orations. It has inspired their more than ten thousand poets. For two hundred years the changes have been rung upon it from the annual commencements at Harvard down to the children's exhibitions in the country school-houses. Their churches have founded upon it and attempted to justify their intermeddling in the name of God and humanity. Their literature finds no theme so rich in pecuniary rewards. Their

historians revel in giving it expression. And their politicians—how they have availed themselves of it to cover their robberies, let the history of this country tell.

This claim of descent from the English Puritans is fraudulent. It is utterly destitute of any basis of facts to support it. On the contrary, the truth is, that the Pilgrim Fathers were repudiated, bastardized, cast out, by these self-same Puritan worthies who are now boasted as progenitors.

If it should be asked why this claim has been allowed to pass so long unchallenged the answer is, that it is because nobody has been particularly interested in denying it. Then, after all, the Puritan is not savory, and a pedigree traced to this source has not been universally regarded as a legitimate cause of envy to those who possess no title to such a lineage.

The first question with which this history will occupy itself will be :

Who was the first Yankee ?

We will take the trail at Cape Cod.

It will hardly be denied that the cargo which the Mayflower discharged at this spot were Yankees. But if Yankees there, they were undoubtedly Yankees at the place of embarkation in Holland; and if Yankees in Holland, they were also Yankees in England before their first emigration. And if we can show the author and founder of this sect in England, we have then run down the primitive individual we are in pursuit of.

It will be interesting to hunt up the genuine original Jacob. It will be more interesting still to find him and to ascertain what manner of man he was. If we can succeed in the search, the result will be something more valuable than the gratification of mere curiosity ; for, as the physical features of the natural ancestor are imparted to those who proceed from him, so the dispositions and habits of the founder of a sect are invariably stamped, in a greater or less degree, upon his moral offspring.

The primordial Yankees, as we shall see, were driven out of England on account of their communistic doctrines and their dangerous demagogism. They sought a refuge in Holland because of their sympathy with the remnants of the Anabaptists and of the Family of Love which still existed in that country. They turned Holland upside down with their own ceaseless wranglings and their proselyting spirit. They abused the hospitality of the Dutch by interference in their affairs. They devised a scheme to rob them of their lands on the Hudson. They engaged in a joint-stock filibustering expedition with some London adventurers to carry this scheme into effect, which treachery was thwarted by the vigilance of the Dutch in arranging with the captain of the Mayflower to carry the filibusters to Cape Cod, instead of landing them at Manhattan.

To establish these facts it will not be necessary to rely upon ungodly historians or Church of England clergymen. The principal and conclusive evidence will be that of Puritan divines and of their own writers.

The first Yankee, then, was a man by the name of Brown, and the first meeting of Yankees which ever took place on the planet was held in a sand-lot, or rather a gravel-pit, at Islington, near London. These primitive Yankees were called Brownists, after the name of their founder.

The doctrines of Brown were, in the main, essentially those of the Anabaptists, and especially of that branch of the Anabaptists known as the Family of Love.

This will appear from a comparison of the respective doctrines themselves, and is also further evidenced by the judgments of contemporary writers.

Thomas Scott says: "The chameleon is in England a Familist," (Family of Love,) "at Amsterdam a Brownist."

Ephraim Pagitt, a clergyman of the Church of England, distinguished for his learning and for his classical acquirements, says, in his *Heresiography*, published in 1646: "Now,

however, the Brownists agree with the Anabaptists in many things."

Robert Baillie, a minister of the Scotch church, at Glasgow, says in his *Dissuasive from the Errours of the Times*, published in 1646: "The doctrine of the Anabaptists, who in great numbers fled over to England, when for their abominable and terrible Crimes, by Fire and Water and Sword, they were chased out of both the Germanies, is so like, and in many things so much the same, with the Doctrine of the Brownists, that the derivation of the one from the other seems to be very rationall."

The Anabaptists, according to Melanchthon, were founded by one Nicholas Storke and arose in Germany in the times of Luther. Storke preached that the saints should possess the earth, and that he and his followers were the saints.

Thomas Muncer was a disciple of Storke. He gathered together an immense multitude of followers, variously estimated at from forty thousand to one hundred thousand, and undertook to make communism an actual reality. These went marching over the country, plundering, burning and killing, and proclaiming death to all princes and kings. Count Mansfield soon headed an army against them and defeated and dispersed them with terrific slaughter.

But they were not entirely destroyed. In 1532 John Becold, a tailor at Leyden, arrived at Munster with a great number of believers. Here he issued a proclamation, declaring a community of goods, and inviting all sympathizers to rally to his standard. Great numbers of them flocked to Munster. The city was seized, the magistrates were driven out or killed, and the commune was established under Tailor John, who now made himself a king with great parade and pomp. But Tailor John was something greater than a king. He was also a prophet; and he pretended to hold direct communication with God in trances, and to receive from him commands for the government of the saints. One of these revelations was, "that it was the good will of the Father that

a man should not be tied to one wife, but should have as many as he pleased." We are told that, "the greatest confirmation of this doctrine was the practice of the prophet himself, who at once took unto him three wives, and left not off until he had fifteen." We are also told that "it was now accounted a matter of praise to have many wives," and that "all the handsome women in Munster were besieged with the solicitations of the brethren, seeking who should be first served."

Tailor John's church was of short duration. Count Waldeck captured the city, and the king and prophet suffered martyrdom.

Other leaders followed, but with less success. One Jan Wilhelms probably did more stealing and had more wives (he had twenty-one) than any of the rest. He died at Utrecht, at the hands of the executioner, another witness in the cause of freedom of conscience, as he understood it. The names of some of his wives have been preserved, viz: "Elsken Thewes, and Elizabeth, her daughter, also Clare and Elizabeth, sisters, and daughters of Jan Marsens."

We have from Pagitt the following illustrative anecdote, viz:

"Gastius reporteth, that a certaine Mayd, of modest behaviour, who had dwelt with her master honestly for many years, being seduced by the Anabaptists, lived among them, and after a moneth returned to see her old Master, who saluted her merrily after this manner: Why dost thou suffer thyself to be seduced by those impure knaves? A woman having once lost her honesty, what hath she left? The Wench answered, they told me that the Heavenly Father commanded it, and therefore I was most obedient in all things to all men, and denied no man the duty of spiritual marriage that did require it."

Bullinger, in his work against the Anabaptists, mentions the following arguments which they employed to overcome the scruples of those women who resisted their solicitations,

viz : that Christians must renounce for Christ's sake those things which are most dear unto them, and, therefore, women must renounce their beloved honesty ; that for Christ's sake we must undergo all manner of infamy ; that publicans and harlots shall enter heaven before the Pharisees ; that as all were one spirit, so likewise must all be one body.

In 1535 the Anabaptists who had escaped from Germany and Holland began to swarm into England. We find accounts of their being punished in England in 1538 and 1539. In 1575 there was a congregation of them at Algate, of whom twenty-seven were arrested.

Camden, in his Life of Queen Elizabeth, says: "She issued a proclamation commanding the Anabaptists, who had flocked to the coast towns of England from beyond the seas, under color of shunning persecution, to depart the realm within twenty days, upon pain of imprisonment and loss of goods."

The Family of Love, or Familists, as they are sometimes called, was an offshoot from the Anabaptists.

The founder of this sect was one David George, or Joris, of the city of Delft. He affirmed that he was not born of flesh, but of the Holy Ghost ; that he was the beloved son, and sent to restore the Kingdom of Israel.

To him succeeded Henry Nicolas, a mercer and man of wealth, known also as Henry of Amsterdam. According to Rutherford's Survey, he came to England and wrote a letter to two daughters of Lord Warwick, "and laboured to persuade the maids to a spiritual new birth."

It was a leading principle with this sect, that they could express their doctrines in the formulas of any church or confession. They held, therefore, that it was folly to suffer for their faith or to come in conflict with the civil or ecclesiastical authorities. In Catholic countries they professed themselves Catholics ; in England they were nominally adherents to the established church ; and in Holland they called themselves Reformed. They claimed to reach absolute perfection, and that those who were illuminated could not sin in anything

they did. The marriage of such as were not enlightened was filthy and polluted.

Strype, in his *Annals*, *anno* 1574, speaks of the spread of the Family of Love in Cambridgeshire. He describes the members of this family, as "running and frisking from place to place, staying for the most part not anywhere long, save where they light upon some simple Husbandman whose Wealth was greater than his Wit."

Strype says again, *anno* 1577: "This year came out in England the letters of Henry Nicolas, founder of the sect of the Family of Love."

Strype again says, *anno* 1579: "The Family of Love appeared in the diocese of the Bishop of Norwich."

And it was at Norwich, and among these people, that Brown established his first congregation, as we shall presently see.

The fifteenth point of their doctrine, as published by themselves and given by Strype, is: "A man ought not to weary his body in Travel and Labour;" for they said: "The Holy Ghost would not tarry in a Body that was weary and irksome."

These were the sources and such the originals out of which flowed the gospel which Brown preached in the sand-lot or gravel-pit at Islington. It is to be understood, however, that Brown did not proclaim it in its pristine vigor and purity. Prudential considerations had made some changes in the external form necessary. The authority of the Queen could not be openly set at defiance, but it could be covertly attacked and undermined by means of a religious pretext. A community of goods could not be declared in plain language, but a church founded on principles which would lead to this result could be claimed as the only true church of God. Nor could a community of women be preached openly as an article of faith, but a doctrine of marriage and divorce could be devised which would equally justify the amours of the saints. All this Brown well understood.

Bredwell, a distinguished Puritan, writing against the Brownists, says, as quoted by Hanbury: "Of my adversaries, I rather know their nature than their number. Although sundry among them, from time to time, have labored to be leaders, so upon the spur of emulation have galloped as hard as they could; yet without all question, there is none among them that can justly take the garland from Robert Brown. Let them not disdain, therefore, that he should bear the name as the father of that family and brood."

Stillingfleet says: "R. Brown, from whom the party received their denomination," &c.

Pagitt says: "These Sectaries are called Brownists; from one Master Robert Brown, a Northamptonshire man, who was a School-master of the Free Schoole of St. Olaves in South-wark. This Brown, seducing certain people, preached to them in a Gravel-pit near Islington. Also when his whimsies came first into his head, he was advised by some of his friends to confer with Master Fox; and having been with him he reported that he had been with a madman, who thrust him out of his doors, telling him he would prove a fire-brand in God's church."

This meeting between Brown and Fox is worthy of note, because it was an interview between the first Yankee and the first Quaker. Yankees and Quakers met afterward and the Yankees had their revenge.

The biography of Brown is interesting. Brown was a prophecy; he was a typical form.

Neal, in his History of the Puritans, calls attention to Brown in the year 1580. Neal says: "He was first a school-master and then lectured at Islington; but being a fiery, hot-headed young man, he went about the country inveighing against the discipline and ceremonies of the church, and exhorting the people by no means to comply with them. He was first taken notice of by the Bishop of Norwich, who committed him to the custody of the sheriff of the county in the year 1580, but upon acknowledgment of his offence he was

released." The bishop complained of Brown, that "he hath greatly troubled the whole country, and brought many to great disobedience of all laws and magistrates."

The condition of England at this time rendered it an inviting field for the enterprises of demagogues. The revolution, which only ended with the second James, had, in effect, begun. The limits of the royal prerogative had not yet been defined. Elizabeth was stretching them to an extent which her imperious father would have deemed unsafe. A certain feeling of unrest and insecurity pervaded the orderly classes of society. The title of the Queen to the throne was in dispute. She had powerful enemies abroad and secret foes of ability and influence at home. In the religious aspect, her situation was still more precarious. She was the head of the Protestant Church. It was this that constituted her strength. Could it be shown that the establishment of which she was at the head *was not a church at all*, the dreams of the demagogues would be realized. The revolution would then receive a fresh accession of fury, a harvest of appropriations and confiscations would follow, and the demagogues would reap their rewards in a share of the public plunder.

Further: the seizure of the abbey lands by Henry VIII had created the proletariat in England. The number of the unemployed poor and of those who barely subsisted by their daily labor was very large. A statute of Elizabeth, 1571, throws some light upon this subject. This statute was intended to furnish employment for the people in the manufacturing of wool. The statute provided that all, except the nobility and some few others, should on all Sabbath days and holy-days wear woollen caps. The preamble set forth, that there were "vast numbers of poor and impotent people throughout the whole realm * * * who were like to become unprofitable or dangerous to the commonweal, * * * many of whom were gadding through the realm practicing sundry kinds of lewdness."

Brown was, as the historian Robertson tells us, "a popular

declaimer in high estimation." He thought he saw his opportunity; and he went to work after a method, which has since become the approved one. He could preach sedition and confusion in a general way, but this would end only in the barren applause of the mob. To take advantage of the insurrectionary spirit and render it effective, it was necessary to organize it. The first thing Brown did, therefore, was, as we learn from letters in the Lansdowne MSS., to institute secret political societies, name them churches, and to hold secret meetings. He was engaged in this work in the year 1581, in the diocese of Norwich.

In 1582 Brown published a scurrilous book against the authorities, in which he employed language inciting to resistance. For this he was arrested, but avoided serious difficulty by denying that "he was acquainted with the publication of the book," though he admitted writing it. Neal says, *he published the book.*

This leniency appears to have had little effect upon him; for we now find him roaming the country, lecturing and inflaming the rabble against the communion book, the order of government, and the established laws of the realm. Brown boasted of having been incarcerated in thirty-two different prisons for these offences. "At length," says Neal, "he gathered a separate congregation of his own principles, but the Queen and her bishops watching them so narrowly they were quickly forced to leave the kingdom." This was the Norwich congregation. We learn from the *Biographia Britannica* that this congregation consisted principally of foreign Anabaptists.

Fletcher in his *History of Independency* says: "At Norwich, Brown associated himself in the first instance with a Dutch congregation," &c.

Fuller says of Norwich, that it had at this time "almost as many Dutch strangers as English natives inhabiting therein."

Neal continues: "Several of his friends embarked with their effects for Holland, and having obtained leave of the

magistrates to worship God in their way, settled at Middleburg, in Zeeland." And this was the beginning of the carpet-baggers.

Baillie says of Brown's doctrine: "That ill-faced child will father itself; the lineaments of Anabaptism are clear and distinct in the face of Brownism. * * * That Brownism is a native branch of Anabaptism is also evident from the frequent transition of many from the one to the other."

Marriage with the Brownists was only an ordinary contract, requiring neither clergyman nor magistrate. According to Bishop Hall, Brown merely "required notices to witnesses and then to bed." And says Baillie: "As their marriages are, so, too, are their divorces." Thomas White (of whom more hereafter) says: "They hold it lawful for a man to live with her that is not his wife." Francis Johnson, the third chief of the Brownists, justified bundling with other men's wives.

Brown doubtless expected to find active friends among the Anabaptists and the Love Family in Holland. But in this he was disappointed. Nor was he more successful in proselyting the natives. Meeting with nothing but defeat and disappointment abroad, he returned to England. Immediately upon his arrival he renounced his principles, made his dutiful submission to the established church, and was appointed rector in Northamptonshire.

Fuller was personally acquainted with Brown. He says in his Church History: "For my own part, I have, when a youth, often beheld him. He was of an imperious nature, offended if what he affirmed in common discourse were not instantly received as an oracle. He had in my time a wife with whom for many years he never lived; parted from her on some distaste."

Brown finally succeeded, after all, in dying in jail. Fuller gives the incident as it was related to him by the parish constable who made the arrest.

It seems that Brown's taxes were due and that the constable, whose duty it was to collect them, called upon him for payment. Brown flew into a passion and struck the constable. He was arrested for the assault and battery, and brought before a neighboring justice of the peace, Sir Rowland St. John. The justice would have dismissed the case, but Brown's stubbornness and impudence on the trial would not permit him to do so. He was determined to go to jail, and to jail he went. A feather-bed on a cart was provided for his comfort in conveying him thither, where he died soon after, in the eighty-first year of his age.

Strype, in his *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, makes the following note of Brown, viz: "This year (1589) there went off from the Separation and came into the communion of the Church a Ringleader, namely, Robert Brown."

Strype gives the following letter from the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, which Brown carried in person to the Archbishop of Peterborough. The letter, as will be seen, begs an appointment for Brown, as a reward for the recantation of his opinions. The letter is dated 20th June, 1589, and runs as follows, viz:

"That tho' it might seem somewhat strange, that he should write unto his Lordship in favor of the bearer, Robert Brown, who had been so notably misliked in the world for his strange manner of Writing and Opinions held by him; yet, seeing he had now a good time forsaken the same, and submitted himself to the Order and Government established in the Church, he had been the rather moved to recommend him to his Lordship's favor; and to pray him, if haply any Conceit might be in him, that there should remain any Relicks in him of his former erroneous Opinions, that he would confer with him; And finding him dutiful and conformable (as he hoped he should) to receive him again into the Ministry; and to give him the best means and help for Ecclesiastical preferment."

The conference must have been satisfactory, for, as we have seen, Brown received his appointment

Brown was guilty of gross treachery towards his deluded followers, whom he abandoned at Middleburg. Stillingfleet says :

“ When those who were called Brownists, for the freer exercise of their new church way, withdrew into the Low Countries, they immediately fell into strange factions and divisions among themselves. Robert Brown, accompanied by Harrison, a school-master, and about fifty or sixty persons, went over to Middleburg, and there they chose Harrison pastor, and Brown teacher. They had not been there three months, but upon the falling out between Brown and Harrison, Brown forsakes them and returns for England, and subscribes, promising to the Archbishop to live obedient to his commands. Concerning whom Harrison writes to a friend in England in these words : ‘ Mr. Brown hath cast us off, and that with open, manifest and notable treacheries ; and if I should declare them you could not believe me.’ ”

Indeed, according to Stillingfleet, Brown's final reconciliation with the Church of England and submission to the authority of the bishop was only a piece of hypocrisy. For Stillingfleet says : “ By the bishop's authority, he said he meant only his *civil* authority ; by declaring the Church of England to be the church of God, he understood the church of his own setting up ; by frequenting our assemblies according to law, he meant the law of God and not the law of the land ; he declared his child was baptised according to law, but then told his followers it was done without his consent.” One more instance of Brown's discriminating must not be omitted. Pagitt tells us that Brown was once reprimanded for beating his wife. Brown replied, that he did not beat her *as his wife*, but *as a cursed old woman !*

Barrow succeeded Brown as chief, and the Yankees were now called Brownists or Barrowists, indifferently, the two words meaning the same thing, and identifying one and the same sect or organization.

Neal says : “ Robert Brown was the founder of the sect

known as Brownists ;" and again he says : " These were now called Brownists or Barrowists, from one Barrow who was now at their head."

Strype says, in his *Life of Whitgift* : " This man Barrow gave denomination to a sect called Barrowism, and was in effect the same as Brownism, so called from one Brown."

Barrow will not detain us long. His reign was a short one. He was an unsuccessful imitator of Brown, and finally brought up at Tyburn, where he was hanged as a common felon, on the 31st of March, 1594. Those wishing further information upon this particular matter may examine the record of his trial, which is still preserved, but too voluminous for insertion here. After his conviction, Barrow recanted and plead for a pardon. Bishop Hall calls him a " false martyr." This is true. Barrow was not put to death on account of his religious belief or teachings; but it is nevertheless true that his execution was one of the many stains on the judicial proceedings of the times, and only to be palliated by the dread of revolution.

Barrow is thus outlined in a few strokes by Doctor Bancroft, then Bishop of London : " Barrow was the man, who, when by Roisting and Gaming he had wasted himself and had run so far into many a Man's Debt, that he durst not show his head abroad, he bent his Wits another way of Mischief: And now becoming a Julianist, devising by all the Means he could possibly imagine, to wit, Hypocrisy, Railing, Lying, and all Manner of Falsehood, how all the Preferments which yet remained for Learning (Benefices, Tythes, Glebelands, Cathedral churches, Livings, Colleges, Universities and all) might be utterly spoiled and made a Prey for Bankrouths, Cormorants and such like Atheists."

The reader may gather some notion of Barrow's revolutionary teachings from his " Discovery."

He says : " When princes depart from the faith and will not be reduced by admonition or reproof, they are no longer to be held in the faith of the church, but are to receive the cen-

sure of Christ, as any other, and to be cut off as withered branches; the church cannot, neither hath in her power, to defer the sentence of Excommunication any longer on hope of further tryall, because they have had already that tryall which God alloweth; it is a Leaden-rule to proceed to the sentence of Excommunication when the sin is ripe. Which censures if the Prince contemn, he contemneth them against his own soul; and is therefore by the power of the church disfranchised out of the church and to be delivered over to Satan as well as any other offender."

It is to be remarked here that Barrow denied all authority to the Church of England, and vested this power of excommunicating princes in the church which he was organizing himself. In Elizabeth's time this was treason.

Barrow called the Puritans hypocrites, because they did not approve of the Anabaptist plans of Brown and himself.

George Giffard, a learned Puritan divine, "Minister of God's Holy Word at Malden," answered the charge in a work entitled "A Treatise against the Donatists of England, 1590." This book alone is sufficient to show that there was no union, alliance, or sympathy between the Puritans and the Brownists. But it shows clearly enough that the relation between them was hostile, and hostile only.

In a work entitled "Plea for the Innocents, 1602," by Josias Nicols, an uncompromising Puritan, we read:

"In this time also happened the second and third evil. The Brownists took offence at both sides and made a temerarious and wicked separation, and some two or three men being bewitched with some proud honour, by a certain mad and frantic spirit, lifted up themselves with high words of blasphemy. Howbeit, these also were drawn upon us and made a notable matter to aggravate our cause."

The "Ministers' Protestation," subscribed by the Puritan divines, says: "We protest before Almighty God that we acknowledge the churches of England as they are established by the public authority to be true visible churches of God." This was exactly what the Brownists denied.

The Oxonians, in answer to the "Ministers' Protestation," and in their argument against Puritanism, say: "Hath it not made the Brownists confidently to reproach us that our church is no church?"

To this the Puritans make replication in the "Defence" as follows: "Our brethren needed not to have cast the Brownists in our nose, seeing it is well-known that the ministers which desire the reformation have most of all others opposed themselves to that faction."

Giffard, already quoted, says: "With this sect only have I now to deal. First, therefore, touching their name, we call them Brownists, as being the disciples and scholars of one Brown."

Stillingfleet remarks: "As for those of the Separation," (the Brownists,) "says Parker, a noted non-conformist, who have confuted them more than we? or who have written more against them? And in a letter of his he expresses the greatest detestation of them. Now it grieved me not a little at this time, saith he, that Satan should be so impudent as to fling the dung of that sect into my face, which, with all my power, I had so vehemently resisted during the whole of my ministry in England."

Samuel Rutherford, professor of divinity at St. Andrews, whom Mr. Baillie calls "the most learned and acute Mr. Rutherford," says, in his *Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist*; London, 1648: "The unjustly called Puritans did never own Brown, who set on foot the old doctrines of the Anabaptists in England."

In 1593 a bill was brought into Parliament providing for the punishment of the Brownists. Price says: "The law was not directed against the Puritans, but against the Brownists. The one party was regarded as a conscientious body, whose scruples were entitled to respect; the others were condemned as reckless adventurers, whose principles were destructive of religion and subversive of the Commonwealth."

Fletcher, who may be regarded as an apologist for the

Brownists, makes this important concession, viz: "It is somewhat singular that while a strong Puritan feeling was gaining ground in Parliament, and evincing itself by various attempts to reform the Church of England according to Puritan notions, that the Brownists should have so few, or no sympathizers in the house ready to defend their cause. The very same Parliament of 1593, which sought to check the unconstitutional proceedings of the Court of High Commission, passed an iniquitous statute against the Brownists."

Finch, in discussing this bill, in order to show clearly that it was aimed solely at the Brownists and was approved by the Puritans themselves, read papers from the Puritans which said: "We allow not of the Brownists, the overthrowers both of church and commonwealth; we abhor them and we punish them."

Strype says that the magistrates of Suffolk, in their remonstrance to the lords in council in 1583 in behalf of their Puritan ministers, declared: "We allow not of Papists, of the Family of Love, of Anabaptists or Brownists, no; we abhor all these, we punish all these."

In *The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam in America*, published in London, 1647, reprinted in Force's tracts, the writer, after a bitter denunciation of Familists, Libertines, Brownists and others, makes a foot-note, in which he says: "By Brownists, I mean not Independents, but dew-clawd Separatists: far be it from me to wrong godly Independents. I truly acknowledge that I judge myself neither able nor worthy to honour some of them as they deserve."

We have thus seen that Barrow was the successor of Brown. We have seen that Brownism and Barrowism were one and the same. And we have surely brought forward sufficient evidence to prove the fact that the Brownists were held in abhorrence by the Puritans. Let us now see in what light they were regarded by the philosophers.

Bacon says: "As for those which we call Brownists, being, when they were at the most, a very small number of very

silly and base people, here and there in corners dispersed; they are now, thanks be to God! by the good remedies which have been used, suppressed and worn out, so as there is no news of them." Bacon further corroborates Bancroft in his judgment of Barrow. Bacon pronounces Barrow "a vain and libertine youth."

The chivalric Sir Walter Raleigh has also given us his opinion of these Primitive Yankees. It entirely coincides with the opinion of Bacon. In discussing the bill in Parliament above referred to, Sir Walter said: "In my conceit the Brownists are worthy to be rooted out of the commonwealth."

It may be remarked, in passing, that Bacon furnishes additional evidence of the utter absence of any tie or bond of relationship between the Puritans and the Brownists. He says the Brownists "were very silly and base people." This could not apply to the Puritans. He further speaks of them as being suppressed; for which he very naturally, thanks God! Neither could this apply to the Puritans, who were numerous, and who were enjoying the blessings of social order at home, while the Brownists were being imprisoned and driven out of the country for their seditious practices.

Chief Justice Marshall, following Robertson, Chalmers, and Burke, says of the Pilgrims: "They were an obscure sect which had acquired the appellation of Brownists." Of their residence in Holland, he says: "There they resided several years in safe obscurity. This situation at length became irksome to them. * * * They made no converts." They emigrated to America, because, "in the extinction of their church they dreaded, too, the loss of those high attainments in spiritual knowledge which they deemed so favorable to truth."

Francis Johnson succeeded Barrow as the third chief. With Brown's defection, the congregation at Middleburg was broken up and dispersed. But Johnson now comes forward and leads into Holland a new installment of carpet-baggers.

Strype, *anno* 1593, says: "In London one Francis Johnson was the pastor of the Brownists."

Neal, speaking of the Brownists, says: "Their congregation at London being now pretty numerous, formed themselves into a church, with Francis Johnson elected pastor; Mr. Greenhood, teacher; Mr. Bowman and Lee, deacons; Mr. Studley and Kenaston, elders. This church was organized in the house of Mr. Fox, in Nicolas Lane, in the year 1592." Neal again calls Johnson "pastor of the Brownist church." He also says: "Johnson carried the Brownists into Holland."

* * * But the greatest number who left their native country for religion were Brownists, of whom Mr. Johnson, Ainsworth, Smyth, and Robinson, were the leaders. * * * Mr. Johnson erected a church at Amsterdam after the model of the Brownists."

Mosheim says: "Among these sects none is more famous than that formed about the year 1580 by Robert Brown. This sect impatient under the great injuries it had received (perhaps through its own fault) in England, removed to Holland and settled at Middleburg, Amsterdam, and Leyden."

Baillie says: "After the death of Ainsworth, the Brownists at Amsterdam came to a small, inconsiderable handful, and so yet they remain. No other at that time in the whole world were known of that religion but a small company at Leyden, under Master Robinson's ministry. * * * Robinson was the last advocate of that party. * * * Johnson was a leader of the Brownists, and was for many years pastor at Amsterdam."

Brook, in his *Lives of the Puritans*, says: "Robinson set out on the most rigid principles of Brownism."

Oldmixon says that, "the members of Robinson's church were Brownists."

Neal says: "John Robinson removed to Leyden and created a congregation on the model of the Brownists."

They were known as Brownists to the National Dutch Church in Holland. After Robinson's death his congregation at Leyden was broken up. Some of its members, among whom were Robinson's widow and some of his children,

connected themselves with the Dutch church. In the 20th volume of the New England Genealogical Register we find a copy of an entry in the records of the Dutch church at Leyden, which runs as follows: "Dominie Lantsman enquires how he shall act in respect to certain Englishmen of the Brownist congregation who request to be received by our church."

These citations prove that the Brownists continued one and the same sect or organization. They prove that the third chief was Johnson, and that the fourth and final chief was Robinson. We shall see in the sequel not only that Robinson was the fourth chief, but that he inherited those principles which governed the conduct of the founder and the master, Brown.

Robinson's Cape Cod Pilgrims were also heirs to the political and religious doctrines taught by their founder; and the remark may be ventured here, that they also shaped their practical life after his example. In this view a recapitulation of some of Brown's moral characteristics will not be uninteresting.

Brown was an educator. He educated first as a school-master. Not contented with this, he educated as a lecturer. But lecturing was not sufficient to quench his thirst for imparting information. He educated as a tramp preacher. He organized secret political societies and educated them. He flattered the vanity of his followers, he appealed to their cupidity, and gave the rein to license. With what zeal he labored in the cause of education appears from his boast, that he had been confined in thirty-two different prisons on account of it.

It was one of the principles of the Family of Love, as we have already seen, that no one should suffer for his religious convictions. This principle Brown adopted. The first time he was arrested, he confessed his fault and was discharged on promise of amendment. The second time, he swore himself out; and for the remaining thirty-two arrests there will be no difficulty in accounting for his escape, if we suppose that he was allowed to testify in his own behalf.

Brown was a believer in higher law. He was a true disciple of Joris and of Henry of Amsterdam. The positive laws and institutions of England were to be disregarded whenever Brown's conscience testified to the contrary. In the face of this testimony to the contrary, the institutions and laws of England became leagues with death and covenants with hell. And Brown taught his disciples to so regard them.

Brown was also a martyr, but he took good care to make his martyrdom profitable rather than inconvenient. Or, which is nearer the truth, he sought the reputation of suffering for a cause in order to attract followers; when, in fact, instead of being persecuted, few men have lived so long and been so incorrigible and yet escaped punishment as he did.

Brown showed himself a true disciple of the Family of Love in divorcing himself from his wife. The grounds of this divorce are those of both the original and modern free-lovers—incompatibility of disposition. With Brown, marriage was a perfect partnership; either party could withdraw from it at pleasure.

It was another principle of the Family of Love that they could employ the formulas of any creed or confession to give expression to their own true inwardness. A noted pulpit quack of our own day has adopted this, together with some other lusty doctrine from the same source. Brown held this principle, and he acted upon it when he found that vagabondizing in Holland was not successful. He then formulated his belief in the confession of the Church of England and received his appointment.

Above all was Brown a Christian statesman. He knew how to discriminate. How sharply he put it in the matter of beating his wife! Had Brown been a member of Congress, with what force of argument he could have pointed out the distinction between a fee and a bribe! With what beauty of language would he now reason, were he with us in the flesh, on a question involving dividends on the one hand and ordinary honesty on the other!

We fear that the descendants of Brown have not honored his memory according to his merits. Touching Brown their literature has been painfully silent. Their office-holding historians have agreed that the public interest demands that Brown should be kept in the back-ground. There are, consequently, but few who know that this founder, hero, and martyr once existed. There are fewer still who are aware that it is to Brown that we are ultimately indebted for those principles which underlie our Government as now constituted and administered, and for those institutions and practices, social and moral, which it is our privilege to enjoy and transmit!

We have already referred to the Brownist church which Johnson organized in Fox's house in Nicolas Lane, London. This congregation Johnson carried into Holland. Neal tells us that in 1592-'3 "Johnson erected a church at Amsterdam after the model of the Brownists, having the learned Mr. Ainsworth for doctor or teacher."

No sooner had Johnson's Brownists arrived in Holland than they "set forth" their "Confession," and went to work to proselyte the Dutch.

Johnson and his congregation had been expelled from England on account of the doctrines which they sought to propagate. It is proper, therefore, to inquire somewhat particularly what these doctrines were.

It is to be remembered that in the seventeenth century, and especially in the first half of it, the separation of church and state, as we now understand it, was not even dreamed of. Upon this question there was no difference of opinion between Brown and the Queen herself. Both alike maintained that the state existed *jure divino*. So also did the form of the church; and the revealed will of God was paramount authority in both cases. The difficulty was, that the two parties interpreted this will in directly opposite meanings. The Queen and the Church of England maintained that the government of the church by bishops was of divine origin. Brown and the Brownists, on the other hand, affirmed that half a dozen

or more individuals who should associate themselves together and choose their officers constituted the visible church of God on earth. There could be no collision between church and state, as both existed under the express precept of one Divine Lawgiver. There could be but *one* true church, and this *ought* to be the state church. From the Brownist point of view, those princes who opposed their church were enemies of God and deserved to be excommunicated, and the government of both church and state taken from them. The question at issue between the Brownists and the government was *not* whether the former should be allowed liberty of conscience and the right to worship God in their own way, but *whether* a sect should be tolerated which was diffusing principles directly subversive of the royal authority itself.

Brown maintained that the state ought to enforce the true religion with temporal pains and penalties. Of course it was understood that the one, true, and only faith was that which the Brownists professed.

"We acknowledge," says Barrow, "that a prince ought to compel all his subjects to the hearing of God's Word in the public exercises of the church."

Johnson declared such to be his views in his answer to Jacob. Johnson says, as quoted by Stillingfleet: "That our ministers ought not to suffer themselves to be silenced and deposed from their public ministry, no not by the lawful magistrates." This was a call to open resistance to the laws of the land.

John Robinson said: "That godly magistrates are by compulsion to repress public and notable idolatry, as also to provide that the truth of God, in his ordinances, be taught and published in their dominions, I make no doubt."

Again Barrow says: "The prince is charged, and in duty ought to see the ministers of the church do their duty and teach the law of God diligently and sincerely."

Again Johnson says: "We condemn not reformation commanded and compelled by the magistrates, but do unfeignedly

desire that God would put it into the heart of her majesty, and all other princes within their dominions, to command and compel a reformation according to the word of the Lord. Princes may and ought within their dominions to abolish all false worship and all false ministries whatsoever; and to establish the true worship and ministry established by God and his word"—that is, the worship and ministry of the Brownists.

In the 39th article of their "Confession," put forth at Amsterdam, the Brownists declare that it is the duty of princes and magistrates to "suppress and root out by their authority all false ministries, voluntary religions and counterfeit worship of God;" and also to "enforce all their subjects, whether ecclesiastical or civil, to do their duties to God and man."

"Their great tenet about the Magistracy," says Baillie, "is this, that no Prince nor State on earth hath any Legislative power; That neither King nor Parliament can make any law in anything that concerns either Church or State; That God alone is the Lawgiver; That the greatest Magistrate hath no other power, but to execute the Laws of God set downe in Scripture; That the Judicial Law of Moses binds at this day all the Nations of the world, as well as ever it did the Jews. They tell us, that whatever God in Scripture hath left free, it may not be bound by any humane Law, whether Civill or Ecclesiastick; and what God hath bound by any Law in Scripture, they will not have it loosed by the hand of any man."

In executing this law of Moses, they demanded that the magistrate should put to death every idolater. "And here," says Baillie, "is the great danger, that by Idolaters they will have understood, not only Pagans and Papists, but by farre the greatest part of all Protestants, all absolutely who are not of their way; for the using of a set Prayer, were it the Lord's own Prayer, to them is clear Idolatry."

It may be worthy of remark that one of the favorite expressions of the Brownists was, that "the Lord's Prayer was as loathsome to God as swine's flesh to a Jew."

Baillie continues: "They will have all churches that were builded in the time of Popery made level with the ground.

"Against the learning of the times they make large invectives; the universities and all the colleges in them they will have razed to the ground; whatever arts and sciences are taught in the Christian schools they count them idle and vain. Grammar, Rhetorick, Logick, Philosophy, are all unlawfull arts.

"The heathen writers which are used in any faculty, such as Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, and the like, they would have them all burnt as the authors of unlawfull arts."

That such were their doctrines, Baillie proves by abundant citations from the works of their own leaders and writers.

Robertson says: "Their system of civil government was founded on those ideas of the natural equality among men to which their ecclesiastical policy had accustomed them." He says, further: "Under the influence of this wild notion the colonists of New Plymouth threw all their property into a common stock."

Baillie calls Robinson a communist, and cites the following from his writings to prove it, viz: "*Omnia etiam bona corporalia suo modo communia habenda, prout cuique opus aequissimum videtur.*"

The intermeddling habit which had characterized the Brownists in England immediately made itself manifest in their new settlement at Amsterdam. They were not content to keep their "Confession" to themselves, but seemed bent in involving all the continent, if possible, in their quarrel.

But, first of all, having no one else to wrangle with for the immediate present, the members of Johnson's Amsterdam church, including himself, fell together by their own ears.

Johnson, the preacher, married a rich widow who wore corked shoes, and got into trouble. It does not exactly appear what the true cause of this trouble was. But, at all events, Johnson's family seemed to take the marriage as a great out-

rage. His father and brother now opposed him bitterly, and his church was turned into a prize ring, some backing the preacher, while others supported his relations. Johnson, the preacher, won, and excommunicated his father and brother. George Johnson, the brother, then attacked Johnson, the preacher, in a pamphlet, which must have been very severe, judging from Ainsworth's reply; for he now took up the cudgels and denounced George Johnson unsparingly, who, he says, "was cast out of the church for lying, slandering and false accusation."

Pagitt tells us that "Johnson broke fellowship with his father and brother and cursed them with all the curses in God's Booke. This separation was confirmed by the heavy sentence of excommunication, by which he did give his father and brother to the Divell."

Bishop Hall, in his *Apology Against the Brownists*, referring to Johnson's congregation at Amsterdam and his cruelty to his father, says: "Hear rather of Novatius, the father of a not unlike sect; of whom Cyprian reports, that he would neither bestow bread upon his father alive, nor burial on him dead, but suffered him both to starve and stink in the street; and, for his wife, lest she should be merciful to any, he spurned her with his heel and slew his own child in her body. What need I seek so far? I grieve to think and report that your own Pastor hath paralleled this cruelty."

Bishop Hall says further: "But whither will ye run from this communion with the Profane? How well you have avoided it in your own separation, let M. White, George Johnson, Master Smith be sufficient witnesses, whose plentiful reports of your known uncleannesses, smothered mischiefs, malicious proceedings, corrupt packings, communicating with known offenders, bolsterings of sins and willing connivances, as they are shameful to relate, so might well have stopped your mouth from excepting at our confused communion with the Profane."

In the year 1603 was published in London a tract, entitled

“Brownism Turned the Inside Outward: Being a Parallel Between the Profession and Practice of the Brownists’ Religion; by Christopher Lawne.”

Lawne says in the preface: “It is not Satan’s weakest delusion, in these our days, to set the fairest glosses upon the foulest matters; and to dress his deadliest hooks with the most delightful baits. It is my purpose, therefore, gentle reader, to let thee understand somewhat concerning this sect of Brownism, which miserable experience—the mistress of fools—hath made known unto me: desiring that my mishap may prevent others harm. I have not in the manifesting of the impieties of this sect written anything but that which I can of my own knowledge, with good conscience, affirm; although I have alleged sundry authors for the proof thereof, yet it is not for want of knowledge in myself, but rather for thy resolution, that in the mouth of so many witnesses, everything might be confirmed unto thee.”

Of Johnson, Lawne says: “He is a most frailful and villainous pastor. He is a man that loveth vice; he is foolish, unrighteous, unholy, intemperate. He is of life reprovably, generally evil reported of; one that ruleth his own house dishonestly; he is immodest, haughty, proud, cruel and unnatural, grudging for maintenance, holding his office in respect of lucre.”

Of the church members, Lawne says: “There were no believers while I lived among them, but a most haughty, proud, disobedient, dissembling and spiteful people.”

In 1605 was published in London another tract, by Thomas White, entitled “A Discovery of Brownism.” White says: “I have rather endeavored to point at things briefly, than by dilating to fill up large volumes; of purpose omitting many of the vilest things, partly for fear of offending chaste ears, partly for sparing them, unless further occasion be ministered by themselves.”

It seems further, from White, that Deacon Bowman had received some money which the magistrates had allowed for

the poor of the congregation, and had appropriated it to his own use. This was upon the evidence of a sister, "Good-wife Colgates," who, Johnson says, was not to be believed, because "she hath since carried herself so ungodly, that she is cast out of the church and so remaineth."

Pagitt quotes the following from the same writer's *Profane Schism of the Brownists*, viz :

"These that pretend such sincerity of Religion doe abound above all others with all kinds of debates, malice, adulteries, cozenage, uncleannesse, so that W. C. complaineth, that he had thought they had been all Saints, but I see they are all Devills.

"I might set down their equivocating and palliating their wickednesse; as one Geoffrey Whiteacres, of Master Johnson's congregation, being found in bed with one Judith Holder, another man's wife; for which matter hee affirmed, that hee did it not to satisfy his lusts; but to comfort Judith, being sickly, and to keep her warme.

"Againe, when Mr. Studley, a chiefe Prophet of Mr. Johnson's congregation, was found hidden behind a basket in Judith's house, had this holy pretence, that he had hid himself to see the behavior of G. P., who came thither after him; hee being an Elder would be a watchful Overseer.

"Againe, M. M. being in a w—h—, and creeping out of a window, the elder, D. S., excused him, alledging in his defence the example of St. Paul, Acts, 9 : 25; who was, by the disciples, let downe over the wall in a basket.

"Mr. Johnson sought to clear the uncleannesse of a man found in bed with another man's wife. * * *

"Also Daniel Studley went about to palliate his filthiness with his wive's daughter, ungodly alledging the Holy Scriptures; like Solomon, who would know all secrets.

"I desire God to keep all people from such a Congregation, where Adulteries, Cozenages and Thefts are in such abundance as in the English Congregation at Amsterdam; that I speak not of Brokerages of W——s and other filthinesse, too bad."

White concludes: "This is true; there is no sect in Amsterdam (though many) in such contempt for filthy life as the English are, viz., the Brownists."

White's veracity has been called in question by no one except Johnson, who calls him a liar generally. He was a clergyman in esteem, in days when slander and falsehood were infamous. He had a living next to Pagitt, and Pagitt vouches him. Bishop Hall also quotes him frequently.

George Johnson, brother of the "frailful and villanous pastor," says of elder Studley: "Mark how the Lord hath judged him with unnaturalness to his own children; suffering them to lie at other men's feet and hang on other men's hands, while he, his wife and her daughter fared daintily and went pranking in apparel, even in this place of banishment."

Pagitt quotes White further, as follows: "Studley had a good veine for making rhymes, especially filthy and obscene ones, which he taught unto little children, his scholars, and to Mistress May, who used in her house to sing such songs, being more fit for a common bawd than for a person professing the pure separation."

Pagitt says: "You may read in the Book called The Profane Schism of the Brownists, how cruelly also they used their servants for not doing their Tasks; as some they hang up by the hands and whip them stark-naked, being women grown; yea, they spare not their own wives but correct them."

Pagitt tells us that Mr. White, the author of these statements, was sued in the Dutch court at Amsterdam for slander, by Francis Johnson, Henry Ainsworth, Francis Blackwell, Daniel Studley, Christopher Bowman, Jane Nicolas, Judith Holder, William Barebones, and Thomas Bishop.

"But," says Pagitt, "after Master White had brought in witnesses before the Burgomasters, who did testify and upon their oaths and depositions confirm what Mr. White had written, he was discharged and had charges given him by the Magistrates." In evidence of this, Pagitt cites the records of the court at Amsterdam, 25th of February, 1606.

It is not surprising that Dutch poetasters should amuse themselves with doggerel verses at the expense of the Pilgrim Fathers, as they did; nor that Ben. Jonson should exercise his wit upon them in the "Staple of News" and in the "Alchemist." It was not impossibly these recollections which gave rise to the ballads which were afterwards sung. The following lines may serve as a specimen:

"The surplice shall not fright us,
Nay, nor superstitious blindness,
Nor scandals rise—when we disguise,
And our sisters kiss in kindness."

When the Brownists set forth their "Confession," Francis Junius was divinity reader at the university at Leyden. And to Junius they dispatched a messenger, with a copy of their "Confession," to have his opinion upon it. Their purpose was to draw him out, to inveigle him, if possible, into a controversy and open a favorite field for the expansion of their dormant energies in polemical theology. But Junius saw the trap, and it speaks much for the kindness of heart of this gentle Hollander, that he avoided it in his response with as much courtesy to them as dignity to himself.

He begins by telling them that they were not accused of anything—meaning in Holland; why then should they undertake to justify themselves? He tells them that it is sufficient if they are satisfied with their own "Confession," that their accusations against the Church of England are not directed to the proper quarter; and that if they have found a place of rest they would act wisely not to stir. Junius, who had been attending to other matters than the affairs of the Pilgrims, writes: "I ought not to judge with myself of matters unknown, at least not so evident; neither yet with such forward boldness to pronounce among you, or others, the matter not being sufficiently manifest to myself."

One would suppose that this letter should have terminated the correspondence. But not so. In about a month afterwards another letter, bearing the signatures of Johnson and others of his congregation, was inflicted upon Junius.

Ignoring the fact that he had declined to give any opinion, much less to enter into any disputation with them, they make an argumentative replication. This letter opens the flood-gates. Whether Junius will or no he must engage in controversy. They are determined not to let him escape. Their document bristles with polemics. It overwhelms him with queries. It pushes him *ad hominem*, *ad rem* and *ad absurdum*. And this through long folios! Unfortunate Junius!

Junius answers. His letter is a fitting rebuke to their impertinence. He writes: "Give us leave, brethren, I pray you, to use our own judgment. We thought it fitter to give you counsel than to make an answer to your demands, and that this we might do unto you in brotherly duty. If we might not, yet will we be more indifferent toward you. I wrote as touching counsel because I thought there was need of it. I wrote not of the question, because I thought the time was not for it. Otherwise I had not thought of you or your matters; no, not so much as in my dream, so greatly do I shun to be a *meddler in other men's matters*."

Junius expresses himself as entirely satisfied with regard to their dissent from the ministers of the church at Amsterdam. It was their affair, not his. He charges them with dissembling, and proceeds to give them some more sharp reproof. He says: "I know nothing of you; neither should yet have known anything, if you had held your peace; so strongly are my ears stopped against rumours. Keep your confidence to yourselves, and leave us to our modesty, who have resolved not to speak of other men's matters, unless we know them thoroughly. You think that other good men will say otherwise; but I think better of them who in my persuasion are furnished with knowledge, skill and wisdom from heaven, that they would sooner subscribe to our modesty than to your judicial confidence. Be it far from you to take that course with good men which God, reason, and the times have taught us to be dangerous. Rash and heady judg-

ments are not to be required, not to be endured, not to be heard."

In his first letter Junius had politely declined giving them any opinion. In the second, as we have seen, he states that he has not the honor of their acquaintance and intimates pretty plainly that he has no desire to make it. Then he peremptorily refuses to have anything to do with them or their affairs.

But even this avails not to secure his repose. They are untiring; they write a third letter, stating that he "had yielded the cause," and informing him that they "had caused his letters to be translated into English and set into print!" They observed further that "the prelates and priests of our country do so interpret your letters as if they been written against the truth of the Gospel of Christ, which we profess and for defence of the Antichristian apostacy and tyranny wherein they persist."

Unfortunate Junius! You are, in spite of yourself, a controversialist, upholding both Antichrist and tyranny! Your letters, without your knowledge or consent, have been published to the world, and this construction placed upon them by the disturbers of your peace!

The Pilgrim writers have reiterated it over and over again that they lived in peace and harmony with the Dutch churches. Baillie says: "We must not be deceived with their pleasant words when they make fair professions of their hearty agreement in so many things with the other reformed churches. These flatteries contradict both their doctrine and their practice. * * * They cry out upon the crimes of the church of Holland." And Bishop Hall corroborates Baillie.

That they had attempted to get into a controversy with the Dutch church at Amsterdam, is evident from this, their third letter to Junius. They say: "Concerning the differences which are between us and the Dutch church of this city, it needeth not that we write unto you of the particulars."

The letter closes with this admonition to Junius: "Sir, take you heed in godliness, that in this cause you do not in any respect withhold the duty which you owe unto them," (their own doctrines,) "or defend which you owe unto the truth."

To this communication Junius replied as follows, viz:

"A huge bundle of letters, beloved brethren, I received from you yesterday in the evening. I gave you counsel to rest from questions; you commanded me to enter into questions. I continue still in my purpose; for I esteem more of peace in the church than of the seeds of strife; they that are fed with these seeds shall reap the fruit. Where you conclude and pronounce that I do therefore assent to you, it is a false conclusion. As touching the matter I have enjoined myself silence; and though I be an hundred times called upon by letters, I will continue still in the argument of counsel. If it like you not, let it alone. You may move many things in your letters; I will rest from those things."

Junius now charges them with bad faith in the publication of his letters. He says: "That my letters unto you were translated into English, I have now first known it by you. I knew not that it was done. But I pity you; I speak it unfeignedly, who, for my letters, give forth in public your own conclusions. With good men, good dealing should be used."

The Pilgrims got in the last word. They replied and Junius answered them no more. In this, their reply, they tell Junius that he has enjoined silence upon himself because he is unable to answer them. They charge him with being a moral coward, and finally finish by giving him a thorough-going cursing in Old Testament phraseology, thus: "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully; and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood."

The Church of England they cursed in this wise: "O daughter of Babylon who art to be destroyed! Happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us! Happy

shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones."

Thus closed the Junius correspondence. It is interesting in more than one point of view; but it is chiefly of interest to us in exhibiting the beginning of a process of evolution which has not yet differentiated the totality of its potences.

Another evidence of the intermeddling of the Pilgrims with the Dutch churches is derived from the controversy between the Puritan, Hugh Broughton, and Ainsworth, one of the officers, as we have seen, in Johnson's church.

Among other things, Broughton said: "When you excommunicated N. N. for marrying a wife of Amsterdam, did you not censure all maidens here to be infidels, saving them of your sort?"

Ainsworth replies: "For our excommunication I answer: First, that myself alone never excommunicated any, but together with the church whereof I am, in the name and by the power of Christ, this have we done to divers, and God hath confirmed it in Heaven. Secondly, if you will take it upon you to defend the corruptions of this Dutch church in baptizing the children of them that are in no church, and their other transgressions in their constitution, government and worship, &c., *whereof we have admonished their overseers, &c.*, we are willing to hear what you have to say."

John Smyth arrived at Amsterdam with some followers in 1606. He and Robinson were both from Lincolnshire, and Bishop Hall says Smyth was Robinson's "Oracle and General."

Smyth was the man who baptized himself to be sure it was done right. Hanbury says he "was tainted with the errors of the sect known as the Family of Love."

John Robinson arrived at Amsterdam in 1608. He signalized his advent by the fiercest attack upon the Church of England that had yet been made. This publication was circulated in England. Its bitter vituperations and incendiary appeals caused Bishop Hall to write in reply to Robinson that

it was well for him "that there was a great ditch between himself and England."

This revolutionary propaganda of the Brownists came very near bringing Holland into trouble; for the English government instructed its ambassador "to deal with the States for the stay of such books in Holland."

At the risk of wearying the reader, we make some extracts from Robinson's writings against the Church of England.

He says: "We account you Babylon and fly from you. * * * It is the apostacy of Antichrist to have communion with the world in the Holy things of God. * * * The blasting hierarchy suffers no good thing to grow and prosper, but withers all, both bud and branch."

Robinson wanted the churches and cathedrals laid in ruins. Of these he said: "One is in Lambeth, another in Fulham, and wheresoever a pontifical prelate is, or his chancellor, commissary, or other subordinate, there is a tower of Babel unruinated." He says that in the Church of England "sins and absolutions from them are as venal and as salable as at Rome. * * * Though you cry never so loud 'We have no king but Cæsar,' yet is there another king, one Jesus." Which means that in the name of "Jesus" the Brownists would overthrow "Cæsar."

A true iconoclast was Robinson. He says: "Your temples, especially your Cathedrals and Mother Churches, stand, still in their proud majesty, possessed by Arch-bishops and Lord Bishops, like the Flamens and Arch-flamens amongst the Gentiles from whom they were derived, and furnished with all manner of pompous and superstitious monuments, as carved and painted images, massing copes and surplices, chanting and organ music, and many other glorious ornaments of the Romish Harlot."

Robinson would have done unto these English priests and monuments, which he called Roman idols, "as was done to the Egyptian idols, Mithra and Serapis, whose priests were expelled, their ministry and monuments exposed to utter

scorn and desolation; their temples demolished and razed to the very foundations."

Pagitt might well say, that "for deceitful slanders the Brownists excell all other sects. Michael, the Archangel, durst not give the Devill such cursed speaking nor raile upon him as they doe upon us."

Smyth had not been idle since his arrival in Amsterdam. He soon succeeded in embroiling himself with Johnson. He pretended to believe that it was sinful to read translations from the Scriptures in the public exercises of worship. Translations were the work of men, and, in his opinion, as idolatrous as printed prayers. He said that the teachers should bring the original Hebrew and Greek texts and translate them orally to the congregation.

Robinson found this quarrel flaming when he arrived. Whatever may have been his views on this particular question, he sided with his "oracle and general" against Johnson.

It was soon discovered that Amsterdam was not spacious enough to contain so many aspiring leaders, and Smyth and Robinson left it together to seek new fields in Leyden, taking with them their own followers and as many of Johnson's congregation as they had been able to recruit, about three hundred in all. It is to be remarked here that Ainsworth, Johnson's chief officer, charged Smyth with having been of "three several religions." But this could easily be justified on the principles of the Family of Love, with which Smyth was "tainted."

After Smyth and Robinson's departure, Johnson and his chief officer, Ainsworth, quarrelled. Ainsworth doubtless thought that he was as good a man as Johnson, and as much entitled to the pay and perquisites of pastor. Then he must have envied Johnson his rich widow, with her corked shoes, while he himself was only a porter in a book house, and had to strain his back at bales and boxes, and run his feet off delivering packages. And Roger Williams says: "He lived on nine pence and boiled roots a week." His life must have been

monotonous. So he concluded that he would spring a new issue and see what he could make off that.

Johnson maintained with the Brownists generally that the power of excommunicating was lodged in the eldership exclusively. Ainsworth took a more popular ground, and maintained against Johnson that this power was vested in the people of the church; and he called Johnson's elders "idols," "hierarchs," and such like names. Two parties quickly formed themselves, the Johnsonians and the Ainsworthians. Robinson egged on the quarrel. The more dissension in Johnson's church, the more, it was hoped, would grace abound in the addition of members of Johnson's flock to Robinson's sheep-fold. Just here, John Paget, an outsider, a Puritan, residing in Holland, let fly a shaft, entitled "An Arrow against the Brownists."

Paget charged against Ainsworth that he had changed his coat and his religion five several times; and that when he had been charged with it before, Johnson, who was then his friend, had not been able to deny it. Paget says, further, that Ainsworth had help in this quarrel from Robinson's church.

The quarrel waxed warm. Other matters became involved in it. Robinson abandoned the less ambitious *role* of merely fomenting the strife, and became an open participant. He anathematized Johnson and his saints as "bastardly runagates, miserable guides, engrossers of the keys, arrogant Zidkias, laying the corner-stone of Babylon, Lucians, scoffing Atheists," &c.

Johnson seized his Billingsgate in defence, and hurls at Smyth and Robinson, "Korites, rebellious pleaders of confusion."

Nor was that vigorous elder, Studley, silent. He, too, grasped his goose quill and alliterated against Fuller, one of Robinson's deacons, and against the Robinsonians generally, as follows, viz: "Ignorant ideots, nobby Nabalites, dogged Doegs, faire-faced Pharisees, shameless Shimeites, malicious Machiavellians."

About the way of it was this: Johnson cursed Ainsworth, and Ainsworth cursed Johnson back. Johnson and Ainsworth both cursed Smyth. Robinson proclaimed Johnson an apostate; whereupon Johnson cursed Robinson for siding against him. As White naively remarks, "this was a cursing and a cursed sect."

Long and acrimonious was the contention in this triangular fight among the Ainsworthians, the Johnsonians and the Robinsonians. Bitter were their criminations and recriminations; and consigned to everlasting and merited oblivion are the pamphlets which passed between them. The congregations of the saints in Holland were in a bad way. Those in Amsterdam were having lawsuits among themselves. They had a lawsuit for their meeting-house. The magistrates proposed arbitration, but the proposition was rejected. The patience of the good Dutch was wearing out, and we are quite ready to believe all that is said by Robert Baillie and others about the Dutch heartily wishing to be rid of such troublesome guests.

The Brownists had not succeeded in England. They were not succeeding in Holland. It was evident that something must be done in aid of the business interest.

What were they to do?

They determined to emigrate.

The causes which led to this resolution were quite natural ones. Their children were marrying off among the Dutch, and were seeking their fortunes in the four quarters of the globe, wherever Dutch ships sailed. They were making no converts. Their sect was too obscure to attract notice, and it was rapidly losing its identity. As for religious liberty, they had that in its amplest extent where they were. It was *not* to enjoy *this* blessing that they determined upon going. Perhaps there is no other false statement which has been so persistently repeated as the assertion that the Pilgrims fled to America to escape persecution. The fact is, these people were extremely poor in this world's goods, however rich they

may have been in spiritual gifts; and it was that common instinct of human nature to seek a better condition which led them, as it has led millions, to seek new fortunes in other climes.

The eyes of Europe were at this time turned towards the New World. Colonists from Spain, France and England were already there, and fabulous were the tales which were told of the treasures of the virgin wilds. The prospect was an alluring one to the Brownists and they contemplated it with delight.

They discussed the matter over and over among themselves as to where they should go. At first they seemed to fix upon Guinea, the El Dorado of Sir Walter Raleigh. But this project was soon abandoned on account of the many fatal diseases incident to the climate.

In the month of September, 1609, Hendrick Hudson, in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, and sailing under a Dutch commission, anchored his vessel, the "Half Moon," in what is now New York harbor. He reported back of the country along the Hudson that "it is as fair a land as can be trodden by the foot of man," and again, "on all lands on which I have ever set my foot, this is the best for tillage." The hungry Brownists had heard these descriptions and their mouths must have watered.

The Dutch merchants, as private individuals, continued to trade with the Indians of the Hudson River country from the time of its first discovery by Hudson, until October, 1614. At this date, the States General of the Netherlands granted a charter to a united company of merchants to the region known as "New Netherlands," extending from the region about the mouth of the Hudson as far northward as Albany. In 1616, travelers returning from there to Holland described these lands as "a vast forest abounding in bucks and does, in turkeys and partridges, the climate temperate like that of Holland, the trees mantled by the vine."

They decided the question by fixing upon the mouth of the Hudson for their settlement and future home.

They conferred with the merchants of Amsterdam about the matter, and these, being favorably disposed toward the intended enterprise, laid an application for them before the Prince of Orange for his approval. They requested the authority to colonize "the aforementioned preacher (Robinson) and four hundred families in New Netherlands." The Prince gave no answer, but referred the matter to the States General, who refused the request. This history, which is not alluded to by any of the early New England chroniclers, is given by Brodhead in his History of New York, on the authority of official Holland documents.

While this application was yet pending in Holland, the Brownists sent two of their number, Robert Cushman and John Carver, to England to treat with the Council for Virginia, in order to secure a settlement under their protection. This council had been instituted under the auspices of the Queen and the Church of England. The two Brownist commissioners carried with them seven articles, which contained a recantation of their hitherto professed faith; and these articles were so construed by the council, for Sir Edwin Sandys writes to Robinson and Brewster, saying: "And seven articles subscribed with your name have given the gentlemen of the Council of Virginia that satisfaction, which has carried them on to a resolution to forward your desire in the best sort that may be for your own and the public good."

The following are the articles to which reference is here made, viz:

"Seven Artikles which ye church of Leyden sent to ye counsell of England to be considered of in respekt of their judgment occasioned about their going to Virginia Anno 1618:

"1. To ye confession of fayth published in ye name of ye Church of England and to every artikell thereof, wee do with ye reform Churches where we live and also els wheer assent wholly.

"2. As wee do acknowledg ye doctrine of fayth their

tawght so ſo wee ye fruites and effectks of ye same doctryne to ye begetting of saving fayth in thousands as in ye land (conformistes and reformistes) as ye ar ealled with whome also as with our brethren wee do desyer to keepe sperituall communion in peace and will pracktis in our parts all lawfull thinges.

"3. The King's Majesty wee acknowldg for Supreame Governor in his dominion in all causes and over all persons, and yt none may decklyne or appeale from his authority or judgment in any cause whatsoever, but yt in all thinges obedience is dewe unto him, either active, if ye thing commanded bee not against God's word, or passive if itt bee, except pardon can be obtayned.

"4. Wee judge itt lawfull for his Majesty to appoynt bishops, civill overseers, or officers in authority onder him, in ye severall provinces, dioses, congregations or parrishes to oversee ye churches and governe them civilly according to ye lawes of ye Land, untto whom ye ar in all thinges to geve an account and by them bee ordered according to Godlyness.

"5. The authority of ye present bishops in ye Land wee do acknowldg so far forth as ye same is indeed derived from his Majesty untto them and as ye proseed in his name, whom wee will also therein honor in all thinges and him in them.

"6. Wee believe yt no sinod, classes, convocation or Assembly of Ecclesiasticall officers hath any power or authority at all but as ye same by ye Magistrate given unto them.

"7. Lastly wee desyer to geve unto all Superiors dew honor to preserve ye unity of ye speritt with all yt feare God, to have peace with all men what in us lyeth and wherein wee err to be instructed by any.

"Subscribed by—

JOHN ROBINSON

AND

WILLYAM BRUSTER."

A mere inspection of these articles is sufficient proof that the Brownists surrendered all the doctrines which they had hitherto maintained.

It is well worthy of remark that Sir Edwin Sandys was the son of an Archbishop of York; that he had been a pupil of the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity, and that he had remonstrated with the Lord Treasurer for his leniency even to the Puritans.

It would be absurd to suppose that this gentleman would have expressed so high a degree of satisfaction, if these articles had not conceded everything that the most rigorous churchman could demand. These articles afford evidence that the Pilgrim Fathers might have remained peaceably in England had they desired, if they really entertained the opinions set forth therein. They flatly contradict the oft-repeated assertion that these people would not have been permitted to return and live in England, but were compelled to seek an asylum in America to escape persecution.

These "Seven Articles" have not yet received at the hands of the historian the attention which they merit. You will not find in them the savage invective which had hitherto marked the writings of the Brownists. You will not find Robinson's old curses on the Church of England. There is here no talk about Babylon or the daughter of Babylon; no cathedral palaces to be ruined; no priests to be expelled; no heathen temples to be razed to their foundations. The polemic lion, Robinson, no longer roared. He had become a lamb, and spoke of love and loyalty to church and state.

The two agents reported back that "they found God going along with them." But it seems that God did not go along with them very far; for, upon further consideration, the council refused to allow them a settlement in Virginia. Their career in England and Holland had been too recent and was too well known. The council may well have doubted of the sincerity and reliability of their professions.

But although defeated in their purpose of securing a settlement in Virginia, the Brownists had by no means abandoned their plan of removing to America.

But where? And how?

They counselled again among themselves and arrived deliberately at the conclusion that they would rob the Dutch of those same lands on the Hudson, which the Dutch had already refused to permit them to occupy.

Holland possessed every element of a lawful, just and equitable title to the Hudson, and had also purchased from the Indians, if such a transaction could give any additional validity. But England might, if so disposed, put up a claim to it in virtue of earlier discoveries elsewhere on the Atlantic coast. And when did England ever fail to interpose such a claim when she had the power to enforce it? Of all this the Brownists were well aware.

They accordingly entered into a joint stock enterprise with some London speculators to carry their purpose into effect. These London men could secure the protection of the English flag, and the Brownists would own the lands, enjoy the Indian trade, paying certain fixed sums of profit or dividends to the London adventurers.

They sailed like royal buccaneers, without any charter, patent, title, right or authority whatever.

There is a painting in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington representing the embarkation of the Brownists at Deft-haven for America. It is hardly necessary to remark that this is entirely a fancy sketch. No portraits of any of the Brownists in Holland have ever been taken—or at least none have come down to us—except one of Governor Winslow. The painting in the rotunda is quite flattering indeed. The cobblers, weavers, porters and tinkers, the peasant louts, the Studleys, the Barebones and the Holders, with their thick ears, knob noses, coarse features and feet without an arch, would not recognize themselves under the fine lines and graceful curves with which the artist has seen fit to present them. An exception must be made of Miles Standish. He was descended of an ancient and noble Catholic family. He sought his fortune abroad in the Dutch wars under Maurice. It is agreed on all hands that he was not a Brownist. The

emigration to America fell in with his love of adventure, and he accompanied the Pilgrims, with whom he had become acquainted in Holland, in his capacity as a soldier. Hubbard says of him, "He had been bred a soldier in the Low Countries, and never entered into the school of Christ or of John the Baptist."

This first business enterprise of these primitive sharpers failed. The Dutch got wind of their treachery, and made an arrangement with the captain of the *Mayflower*, the vessel which was to carry them over, not to land them at Manhattan, but to carry them as far to the northward as possible. The captain was sailing to the north, according to his agreement with the Dutch, when the vessel was driven by stress of weather on Cape Cod, and the Pilgrims went on shore at Plymouth Rock, quite contrary to their original intentions.

Cotton Mather, speaking of the landing at Cape Cod, (*italics his own*), exclaims: "But why at this cape? *Here* was not the port which they had intended; *this* was not the land for which they had provided. Their design was to have sat down somewhere about Hudson's river; but some of their neighbors in Holland, having a mind themselves to settle a plantation there, sinfully and secretly contracted with the master of the ship employed for the transportation of these our exiles (!) a more northerly course to put a trick upon them. 'Twas in pursuance of this *plot* that not only the goods but the *lives* of all on board were now hazarded by the ship's falling among the shoals of Cape Cod."

Nathaniel Morton, in his Memorial, says: "They set sail from Southampton 5th August, 1620. But, alas! they had not sailed far before Mr. Reynolds, the master of the lesser ship, complained that he found his vessel so leaky as he durst not put further to sea. On which they were forced to put in at Dartmouth; Mr. Jones, the master of the biggest ship, likewise putting in there with him. The said ships put to sea a second time; but they had not sailed above a hundred leagues, ere the said Reynolds again complained of his ship

being so leaky that he feared she should founder; and then both ships bore up again and went in at Plymouth. But the true reason of the retarding and delaying of matters was *by the deceit of the master and his company* (crew.)

"These things thus falling out, it was resolved by the whole to dismiss the lesser ship and part of the company with her; the one ship going back for London, and the other, namely: the Mayflower, proceeding on the intended voyage.

"Now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind. After many boisterous storms in which they could bear no sail, but were forced to lie at Hull many days together, after long beatings at sea they fell in with the land called Cape Cod, not a little joyful. They tacked about to stand southward, *to find some place about Hudson's river according to their first intentions*, for their habitations. But they had not sailed that course above half a day, but they conceived themselves in great danger, and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the cape aforesaid. The next day, by God's providence, they got into the cape harbor."

The discovery of the original manuscript history of Governor Bradford, at Fulham, puts an end to all doubt as to the intention of the Pilgrims to "sit down" on the Hudson. Bradford states it as a fact. And Morton states "on late and certain information," that the captain of the Mayflower was bribed by the Dutch for the purpose already mentioned. In this Morton is followed by Prince, Neal, Hubbard and Hutchinson.

There are two alleged facts which the historians of the Pilgrims have asserted so persistently, that by reason of constant repetition they are generally accepted as true. One of these assertions is that the Pilgrims, and especially Robinson, were held in high esteem by the Dutch during their residence in Holland. The other assertion is that they were characterized while there by a spirit of Christian liberty and toleration.

Both these assertions are false and have been proven to be false by the accomplished scholar, Mr. George Sumner.

The only original source of information concerning the history of the Pilgrims to be found among their own writers is Governor Bradford's history.

Governor Bradford wrote a history, extending from 1602 to 1646. This manuscript was used by Morton in compiling his Memorial, first published in 1669. Nathaniel Morton, author of the Memorial, was the son of George Morton, who married in England a sister of Governor Bradford, and came to Plymouth in 1623. Governor Price came from England in 1621, and it is his son that is the author of the Annals of New England. Bradford's manuscript history was the only authority for matters in Holland and in the beginning of the colony. Morton used it, Prince used it, Hutchinson used it last in 1767. The manuscript was lost during the Revolutionary war and was discovered at Fulham, England, so late as 1855. In that year Bradford's history was published for the first time, and in the papers of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Bradford himself arrived in Amsterdam with Robinson in 1608. And he was a passenger on the Mayflower.

Morton, Prince and Hutchinson are only authority in so far as they have copied accurately from Bradford. And they have not copied accurately. Mr. Sumner says of Morton that "he was not the historian but the advocate." "Remembering this," says Sumner, "one may see a reason why he has slightly colored some passages from Governor Bradford's journal, and why Cotton Mather has drawn in many cases from authorities which Morton must have known, but which he does not appear to have regarded, and has in other cases made statements, for which it would seem to require more than an ordinary degree of research to find any authority whatever." This "coloring" amounts to downright forgery in some instances, but Mr. Sumner was too polite to call it by that name.

Bradford began his journal in 1630, five years after the death of Robinson, and ten years after the emigration to America.

The first false statement that we desire to call attention to is from Prince. Prince says in his *New England Annals*, published in 1736, while speaking of the alleged attentions that were paid to the Pilgrims in Leyden by the magistrates and people, that "They granted the Pilgrims a church to worship in." This statement rests entirely upon the authority of Prince, and is, as we shall see, without foundation. Prince also says that Robinson lies buried "in the chancel of one of the churches," and that "he was had in such esteem both by the city and the University, for his learning, piety, moderation and excellent accomplishments, that the magistrates, ministers, scholars, and most of the gentry mourned his death as a public loss, and followed him to the grave." Bancroft, in his garrulous way, calls Prince "the careful Thomas Prince, who merits the gratitude of the inquirer for his judgment and research as an annalist." This statement of Prince relative to the attentions to the Pilgrims and to Robinson is a pure fabrication. There is no mention of it in Bradford's journal. There are letters published in the *Massachusetts Historical Society* from members of Robinson's church, at Leyden, who were with him at his death. None of these make any mention of it.

Mr. Sumner says that he examined the *Dagboek of Leyden* for 1608, 1609 and 1620, and that there was no reference whatever to any such grant of a church, though it was among the functions of the magistrate at that time to control all the church buildings and ecclesiastical funds. Mr. Sumner also carefully examined two voluminous histories of Leyden, the one published in 1641 and the other 1762, "in which the the history of each church is given separately, down to the smallest chapel attached to the different almshouses." These notices are written "with great apparent accuracy and certainly with great minuteness." He says that many pages

are often devoted to the most insignificant of these chapels, "every change in its different occupants mentioned, the acts of the magistrates in relation to it recorded, and in some cases the putting of new planks to the floor, or fresh white-wash on the walls, most faithfully recorded." Yet he found no allusion whatever to Mr. Robinson's church. Mr. Sumner is convinced that he had no church building, but that the congregation met in a hired hall or in Robinson's house.

By a singular coincidence the Scotch churches were established in Holland at the same time that the Brownists established themselves there. In a treaty between the kingdom of Scotland and the Netherlands, provision was made granting the Scotch the privilege of engaging in trade in the Low Countries. A large number of them came over and they established churches among themselves supplied with their own pastors. These churches were in full communion with the national church of Scotland, and they were recognized by the Dutch government. Church buildings were granted to them by the magistrates. They had one at Leyden while Robinson was there, and Mr. Sumner found a minute account of it in the old Leyden records while seeking for information about Robinson's church. These Scotch churches and the Brownists had no dealings. The references of Cardinal Bentivoglio—mistaken by Young—and other continental writers to the "Puritans" in Holland, are to the *Scotch*. Mr. Sumner says that some of these references at first misled him and started him on a wrong trail. In Bradford's Dialogues, by Young, we are informed that "those in Holland reproached as Puritans were entirely distinct from those reproached as Brownists." The "Puritans" were the *Scotch*.

Let us return to the alleged honors paid to Robinson by the people of Leyden.

As has already been stated, there is no mention made of these in any of the letters which were written from Leyden to Plymouth on the occasion of Robinson's death. Positive proof to the contrary has been furnished by Mr. Sumner;

for he succeeded in finding in the records of Peter's church the receipt of the payment of Robinson's burial expenses. The receipt is dated the 10th of March, 1625, and the amount is nine florins, equal to *three dollars and sixty cents*, being the very lowest sum paid for the humblest interment among the very poorest classes of the people. In this class of interments the bodies were removed every seven years to make room for others.

The famous "fast sermon," said to have been preached by Robinson, now appears to have been a forgery by Governor Winslow.

In 1646 many of the inhabitants of New England complained by petition to Parliament of the oppression of the local government. They represented that they were fined, imprisoned and persecuted on account of their dissent from the Pilgrims' religion. For the same cause also they alleged that they were disfranchised and not allowed to vote for civil or military officers.

Governor Winslow was sent to England to defend the home government against these charges. And it was while he was in London that he manufactured this sermon, to show what a spirit of Christian liberty had actuated the original colonists.

A paper printed at London, 1647, by Major John Child, exposes the misrepresentations that Winslow was guilty of in endeavoring to make it appear to the English government that freedom of religious worship was allowed in the colony.

Young says that in Winslow's Brief Narration, "we have the original of Robinson's celebrated farewell address to the Pilgrims at Leyden, and several facts relating to them *not recorded elsewhere*."

This Brief Narration was published in London in 1646, and is as unscrupulous a piece of special pleading as can anywhere be seen. The object of it was to show that the colonial government was liberal in character and that the charges brought against it were false. But Major Child has convicted Winslow of falsehood beyond all doubt, by his reference to official documents and laws.

Judge Davis remarks, in speaking of this famous sermon as given by Winslow : " It is difficult to explain why this excellent advice was not preserved in the *Memorial*, or copied into the church records."

Mr. Sumner asks : " Was the sermon ever preached by Robinson ? "

He does not believe it was, for he says : " The only authority which can be found for it is Winslow, and he gives in an informal manner, twenty-six years after the time when the discourse is supposed to have been pronounced, that which forms the ground-work of the sermon in Mather, Neal, and others. Had Winslow taken notes of this discourse at the time, one may well be surprised with the learned Judge Davis that its excellent advice was not copied, as were many other documents of less interest, into the church records. He had taken no notes, his memory must have been of a superior order to enable him to write out a discourse which he had listened to twenty-six years before." Mr. Sumner's paper is published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1846.

Robinson was the father of the Pilgrims. It was he that gathered into a fold the scattered remnants of the Brownists in Holland after the dissolution of their congregations. It was under his presiding genius that the emigration was projected and carried into effect. Up to his death, the Plymouth Pilgrims looked upon him as their pastor and expected him to join them in their new home. Ingratitude may permit the memory of the founder Brown to sleep in unmerited oblivion, but Robinson will not be forgotten. So long as a printing-press remains in New England and until public speaking becomes a lost art, Robinson will continue to be *pious Eneas* and his labors, *dum condidit urbem*, be among the noblest themes of profitable and patriotic ardor.

A few additional reminiscences of his life and character, not hitherto dwelt upon at much length, and which certainly are not generally known to the reading world, will not, therefore, be inappropriate in this connection.

The first event in Robinson's life worthy of notice is his application for the mastership of the hospital at Norwich. He failed to obtain the appointment, whereupon he separated himself from the Church of England, denounced it to the extent of his vocabulary, and began a new career as a Brownist. These are the facts. Of his motives we can only judge by the ordinary laws of experience in human conduct. Judged by these laws, the evidence is *prima facie* against him; and Bishop Hall does not hesitate to assert that his failure here was the reason why he became a Brownist.

We have already seen what the principles of the Brownists were. Robinson's life is harmonious if we assume that he adopted these principles, and acted upon them to their fullest extent.

In the year 1602 he and one Richard Clyfton organized a Brownist congregation near the confines of the counties of York, Nottingham and Lincoln. He operated actively in England for six years, when he was compelled to fly the country for his revolutionary agitation.

Neal, in his History of New England, says of Robinson that "when he first came to Holland he was a rigid Brownist." And this is the evidence of all the contemporary writers who have treated on the subject. But this evidence is not necessary to prove the fact. Robinson's own writings at this period are in themselves the most convincing proofs that can be brought forward.

Robinson was a fair scholar, well read in the technical theology of his day, a good logician, and an able controversialist. And he knew how to avail himself of all his qualifications. For fifteen years he made war upon the Church of England with all the bitterness of personal resentment. No argument which could possibly be advanced in favor of the claims of this church had he overlooked. He refuted them, all and singular; at least, he undertook to do it, and, in the eyes of his disciples, he succeeded. He not only refuted, but he attacked. The Church of England was an abortion of the

great whore of Babylon that sat upon the seven hills of Rome, and accursed was every one who partook of her fornication! The Brownist church alone was the true church of the living God; this was the temple on earth in which the Most High dwelt; in this church every knee should bow, and to this church kings and princes must submit. Here was an ambition of no common kind; but an ambition which could not be realized in fact.

After fifteen years' experience it would seem that Robinson began to consider the question whether his career as a Brownist had not been a failure. The more he reflected, it seems, upon this subject, the more open he became to conviction. Arguments in favor of the Church of England which he had heretofore annihilated were reconsidered, and he now perceived a cogency in them which had entirely escaped his attention. In a word, Robinson became convinced of the error of his way, and Doctor Ames, whom Robinson had formerly ridiculed as "Doctor Amiss," became the honored instrument of his conversion.

The condition of the Brownists in Holland was, as has been stated, one of extreme poverty. But they had been no better off in England. They had been recruited from the large class of unemployed and discontented population which was already beginning to be a dangerous element in that kingdom. Of all the Brownists who removed to Holland, Brewster and Bradford seem to have been the only two who were possessed of any independent means of support.

Dr. Ames was an English Puritan resident in Holland, and had been elected to a theological chair in Franeaker, in Friesland. This was a marked honor to a stranger. Now, Robinson had been residing at Leyden for six years and no notice whatever had been taken of him. And besides, he was very poor.

Hubbard, in his General History of New England, states the facts of Robinson's conversion as follows, viz:

"After the Doctor (Ames) had taken him (Robinson) to

task and showed him his great mistake in his unanswerable piece called a 'Manuduction to Mr. Robinson,' and finding himself unable to grapple any longer with so great a master of reason, he submitted, and not being willing to speak anything against the truth, that had been by the help of an antagonist discovered unto him. Yea, further, he came afterwards to acknowledge and in a judicious and godly discourse to approve and defend the lawful liberty, if not the duty, in case of hearing the godly preachers of the Church of England. Thus like Paul he preached that which with his pen he had persecuted before."

Baillie says that Robinson recanted.

Robinson's great Brownist work was his Justification of Separation. In 1614, he published a work entitled "Religious Communion," in which he revokes what he had said in the "Justification," etc.; and so it was understood at the time, as fully appears by the controversy between Paget and Ainsworth. Robinson more clearly defined his position in a paper entitled "Manumission to a Manuduction," published in 1615.

The first fruits which accrued to Robinson, after his conversion, (and indeed in the year 1615,) was half a ton of beer and ten gallons of wine a quarter, which must have been a great boon to him in his straightened circumstances. He enjoyed this bounty as a privilege of the university at Leyden, to which he was admitted after his conversion.

Robinson, having purged himself of the odium of Brownism, began now to take an active part in the politics of Holland, the part of religious bigotry and military despotism against freedom of conscience and constitutional liberty.

The bitter contest between Maurice and Barneveldt was now at its height. Maurice had long been secretly plotting to subvert the liberties of the States and to seize upon the supreme power. To accomplish his purpose, he desired a continuation of the war with Spain. The cause of constitutional liberty demanded peace, and Barneveldt, the advocate-

general, had thwarted the plans of Maurice by concluding a truce for twelve years. Maurice became aware that his secret ambition was discovered, and he now began that unrelenting war upon Barneveldt which only ended with the death of the aged patriot on the scaffold. Maurice was a great and successful military chieftain, and the populace, dazzled by his glory, were ready to grant anything he might demand. Maurice threw himself into the arms of this faction. Barneveldt appealed calmly to the friends of the constitution. The Netherlands was a confederacy of independent States. Maurice desired to consolidate these under a single central government, of which he should be the head. Barneveldt, on the other hand, was putting forth his last efforts in the attempt to save the constitution of the confederacy, and to preserve intact the rights of the individual States. Barneveldt and Grotius were Armenians. Maurice took up the cause of the Gomarists. He kindled afresh the fires of religious bigotry and fanaticism. The creatures of Maurice organized mobs in the principal cities. They erected barricades. They pillaged the houses and outraged the persons of the Armenians. The most virtuous matron of this persuasion was not safe at their hands when the cry of "Armenian harlot" was raised against her on the streets. Slanders rained upon Barneveldt. The vilest pamphlets against him flooded the public marts. Barneveldt favored religious toleration. Maurice did not. The Gomarists were in the majority, and to their cupidity Maurice appealed. With the Armenians banished, the wealth of the church would be in their hands. To accomplish the destruction of the Armenians and thereby to further his own ambitious designs, Maurice called the Synod of Dort. It assembled and it did Maurice's work. The Armenians were condemned. The States, under the influence of Maurice, confirmed the decrees of the synod, and the work of spoliation, banishment, and death began. The Armenian professors at Leyden were marched into banishment under an armed guard. More than two hundred Arme-



nian clergymen were turned out of their livings. Grotius was condemned to imprisonment for life, and in May, 1619, the aged and virtuous Barneveldt, Holland's greatest statesman, expired on the scaffold, a martyr to the cause of constitutional government.

And among the inferior class of creatures employed to hound Barneveldt to the death was John Robinson.

Robinson had been a constant attendant at the University to hear the lectures against the Armenians. He had taken an active part in speaking against them in public. All the early chroniclers agree in describing him as "terrible to the Armenians," and Hoornbeek, a native writer, confirms it.

Mr. George Sumner says: "It is to be lamented that in these discussions Robinson is found taking the part of the bigots. There are few, I think, among the sons of the Pilgrims who would not wish to find him ranged with the friends rather than with the persecutors and final butchers of the wise, the just, the generous Barneveldt."

Robinson doubtless expected some substantial reward for his services against the Armenians. It is not improbable that it was the hope of the reward that prevented him joining the Pilgrims at Plymouth. Bishop Hall said of him that "he was a thorough-going Brownist." And we know how Brown would have conducted himself under similar circumstances. Robinson became a Brownist out of spite and abandoned his pretended religious convictions on commercial grounds. It is true that we cannot fathom the motives of any man. But we judge of these from external conduct according to rules which universal human experience has pronounced just and which are every day acted upon in all criminal courts throughout the world in matters of life and death. Let Robinson be judged by these rules and we will be content with the verdict.

After the banishment of the Armenians, there were vacancies at the universities to be filled, and the places of two hundred deposed clergymen were to be supplied. Is there

anything in Robinson's career which forbids us to suppose that he looked forward to a share of the spoils for himself ? But he was disappointed. He crept back into his former obscurity unrecognized and unrewarded. He was now growing prematurely old, and he had doubtless discovered for himself, that his life had been a mistake and a failure. The few meagre accounts of his last five years convey the impression that a cloud of gloom had settled fatally upon him. Let us hope that repentance and peace came at last. He survived Barneveldt six years, and died in extreme poverty at Leyden, in March, 1625.

THE END.

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